

# BULLETIN

## OF THE IV CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

№ 1.

Moscow.

16 November 1922.

### First Session.

Opening of the IV Congress of the Communist International in the Narodni Dom Petrograd, November 5th, 1922.

The Session Opened 9. P M.

Chairman: Zinoviev.

#### Contents:

Formal opening — Clara Zetkin; Election of Presidium: opening speech by Comrade Zinoviev; Telegrams of Greeting from Lenin and Trotsky. Manifestoes to political prisoners, to Workers and Peasants of Italy, to Toilers of Russia, to the Red Army and Fleet and the Workers of Petrograd.

Speakers: Zetkin, Zinoviev, Felix Kon, Béron, Atzario, Katayama, Kolaroff.

Com: Zetkin: Comrades, in the name of the Executive Committee of the Communist International I declare the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International open. The Congress is opened on the day of the Fifth anniversary of the greatest historic event of our time, on the day of the fifth anniversary of the decisive and victorious attack of the world proletarian revolution which, through the Russian Revolution, inflicted the first defeat upon the international bourgeoisie. I declare the Fourth Congress of the Communist International open (applause).

Comrades, at the suggestion of the Executive Committee of the Communist International I propose Comrade Zinoviev as chairman of the Congress (applause). Comrade Zinoviev will please occupy the chair (loud applause).

Zinoviev: The Congress will now elect the Presidium. In conformity with the decision of the Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee and by special agreement of all the delegations to the World Congress, we propose the following list of members of the Presidium:

Kolaroff (Bulgaria).  
Schefflo (Scandinavia).

Katayama (Japan).  
Maratinia (Italy).  
Clara Zetkin (Germany).  
Carr (America).  
Leckie (England).  
Varski (Poland).  
Neuratt (Czecho-Slovakia).  
Béron and Henriët (France).  
Lenin and Trotsky (Russia).

I will put this list to the vote. Those against please raise their hands.

The Presidium is elected unanimously. The members of the Presidium are asked to occupy their seats.

Comrades, I have the honour to deliver to you the opening speech. Today we are in the midst of so many events and recollections that it is difficult to decide what subject to speak on first. Let us examine the situation. The Fourth World Congress of the advanced proletarians of 52 countries is taking place in a country under the rule of the Russian working class, in the Soviet Republic. I think, comrades, that it would be no exaggeration on our part that events of equal magnitude and historical significance occur only seldom. We should therefore devote our first words to the memory of those who have fallen during the past



five years on the battle-fields in order that Russia might remain a Soviet Republic, and that the flag of the Communist Party should not be torn from the hands of the advanced proletarian fighters of all countries who still constitute in many cases only a heroic minority.

The number of our fallen comrades is enormous. Taking only our own country, the number of victims could be counted in thousands.

I happen to see to day an album dedicated to one of the detachments which fell in the struggle for the defence of only one of our Soviet cities, the city of Petrograd. The Album is dedicated to the memory of a detachment Schlisselburg workers who, in 1919, defended our Red Petrograd. What is Schlisselburg as compared with the whole of Soviet Russia, or with the territory of all those countries where our comrades are living and fighting; it is only a small corner, one factory town, one large workshop. The album is dedicated to only one detachment of a factory group of workers who fought around the walls of Petrograd in 1919, and on its roll of honour are the names of scores of Schlisselburg workers who fell arms in hand, defending one of the cities of the Soviet Republic. Now comrades, think and consider how large and incalculable will be the number of the victims of the proletarian struggle, if we take into account the collective Schlisselburg, the workers of the whole of Russia, and the communists of the entire world.

A few days ago I came across another book. One of our Moscow comrades has attempted to collect the biographies of the most prominent of our comrades who have laid down their lives during the last years. The role of the names printed in small type occupies an entire book, I think the minimum is 320 pages. This list comprises the names of only those comrades who were known in the Party and the government circles. We know, however, that in the struggle for the defence of the Soviet Power tens of thousands of nameless heroes have fallen who remain unknown for the record of history.

For the last years there was not in Germany a single town or even a single city square not reddened by the blood of the workers who fought for the ban-

ner of communism. In Hungary during the first attempt of the proletarian revolution, thousands and thousands of our brothers fell, while many of them still remain behind iron bars. Only two weeks ago, on one day 170 communists were arrested in Budapest. In neighbouring Finland where the workers attempted to raise the banner of revolution, tens of thousands of workers lost their lives, and thousands of them are still in prison. In Roumania the entire Party was made to march straight from its Congress Hall into the penitentiary walls, while many comrades were shot down on the way. In Greece the bourgeois revolution put into prison a large group of communists. Only part of them have been liberated by the revolt of soldiers, who disarmed their own bourgeoisie officers, announcing the slogan: "Long Live Lenin"! In America, during these years, hundreds and hundreds of the best working class fighters were hunted down and put in prison. At the present time the American bourgeoisie does not hesitate to impose 20 years imprisonment for membership of the Communist Party.

Our comrades in Italy have been waging a civil war during the last few years with varying success. You know that now, at the moment of our opening the Fourth World Congress, the Italian working class has been literally turned over to destruction and pillage by the Fascist bands, whose leaders, by the way, were formerly socialists. In conformity with our usual experience in the course of the revolution, these socialist renegades have become the most furious and ruthless executioners of the working class, acting as the agents of the bourgeoisie and the most brutal oppressors of the proletariat.

Comrades, let us first of all honour the memory of our best comrades, of our best leaders and brothers who are no longer in our midst, of those comrades that have perished in Soviet Russia and throughout the world for the sake of communism. Eternal memory to the first fighters of the world proletarian revolution! (All rise from their seats; the orchestra plays the "Funeral March").

Comrades, five years have elapsed from the moment that the workers of this very city, where we are now opening the Fourth



d Congress, overthrew the bourgeoisie and took power into their own hands. It may be said without fear of exaggeration that every day of these five years has been an important lesson to the proletariat of this country as well as of the rest of the world. The last year has been to the Communist International in many respects a decisive year. Between the Third and Fourth Congresses there has been an interval of fifteen months. It was during these fifteen months that in a certain sense the immediate fortunes of the Communist International were determined. It was without saying that the complete victory of the Communist International in the present historical sense is absolutely assured. Even if our generation of fighters were to be swept away by the flames of international reaction, as happened with the Communists of Paris and with the First International, the Communist International would nevertheless arise again and even more strongly lead the International proletariat to victory. But the question was whether the Communist International, as now constituted, would succeed in our generation in fulfilling the historic mission assumed by the Third Communist International. This question was solved in the very interval between the Third and Fourth Congresses. The Third Congress concluded its labours at the very moment when the capitalist offensive and the world wide proletarian reaction acquired unprecedented concentration and force. At the Third Congress it became clear that we are beginning to be deserted by some of our unreliable comrades. At the close of the Third Congress our enemies prophesied for the Communist International its extinction, at least eclipse and defeat. It was under the barrage of the capitalist offensive during the last fifteen months that the question was solved whether the young International Communist would not yet fully strong in many places would successfully maintain its position. The Comintern consists of over 50 parties. Some of them have a larger membership than the Russian Communist Party had five years ago, before the outbreak of the revolution. On the other hand there are many parties which are yet weak and not yet definitely organised, which are passing through the difficult initiatory stage. The combined forces of international capitalism and menshevism, as represented

by the Second International, during these fifteen months have been bombarding the separate parties of the Communist International. All the efforts of the bourgeoisie world and its subservient 2 and 2½ Internationals during the period in question were directed to the undermining of our Party, of detaching from our ranks the various component units, in order to break up the Comintern. These were critical months in the life of the Comintern.

It has not been our custom, even at the most anxious moments, to indulge in self-deception or in exaggeration of our strength. The great force of Communism consists of its ability to avow the truth even if it be a bitter one. If the position of the Comintern were at the present moment as bad as anticipated by our enemies, it would be unworthy of the Fourth Congress to try and conceal our weakness. We have to state facts as they are. What we say is the truth. Scrutinising the road that we have traversed, and summing up our forces as the Fourth Congress finds them, we are entitled to declare without exaggeration, that the Comintern has gone through the most trying times, that it has grown and become strong to such an extent that it no longer fears any assaults that might come from the international reaction. It has been the most trying year of the systematic offensive of international capitalism throughout the world; it was during this year that the 2 and 2½ Internationals have joined their forces, it has been a year of famine in Soviet Russia, a year of endless strikes which almost everywhere ended in defeat for the working class and it was during this very year that the Comintern has laid down a solid foundation and fears no longer the wilds of international reaction. The Comintern is alive and will live to sow fear in the heart of its enemies (Applause).

During this year there were other events of decisive importance. The programme and tactics of the Comintern, as formulated by our most important Congresses and by the legislative organs of the International proletariat, have been subjected to the fire test and found correct.

You remember how not so long ago, we witnessed big events in Germany. It was comparatively recently that we declared at the Conference of Halle, on be-



half of the Comintern, that as a result of the decisive voting at Halle, the Right Independent having refused to accept the 21 conditions and join the Comintern, have thereby gone over to the bourgeoisie, and consequently there was only one road left by them, the road to social democracy—to Noske. When we said these words, there was tremendous indignation on the Right Independent benches. They thought this statement as a vicious and unjustified prognostication. Now it has become the fact, the prediction of the Comintern has come true: the Right Honourable Independents are now in the ranks of Noske, in the ranks of the executioners of the working class. An analogous and interesting test of the tactics of the Comintern we have seen in Italy, in a country which is now in a certain sense in the limelight of international events. At the time of the Livorno split we warned those who turned away from the Comintern that they had a choice of two roads—either they follow the Reformist Second International and consequently they will find themselves very soon in the camp of the bourgeoisie; or they will confess their error and will return to the ranks of the Communist International. I know how the individual leaders of the Italian Socialist Party view the lesson of Italy. On the other hand I know how the great majority of socialist workers in Italy view the situation. The latter at their recent Convention in Rome have admitted their mistake and that the Comintern was right. They now return to our ranks, and of course, we will receive them like brothers (Applause).

Comrades, these two examples (I do not wish to enumerate any more), these two glaring instances in the international labour movement have demonstrated quite clearly to all, the honest and conscious proletarians throughout the world, that the 21 conditions fixed by the Second Congress are not an invention, nor an unnecessary stricture, but the dogma based upon the collective reasoning of the international proletariat struggling to break the chains of capitalism.

The tactics of the Communist International have been tested and found correct. We have an exact and clear road, we know whither we are going, we know whither we lead the international prole-

tariat, and therefore we guarantee with greater or less sacrifices this dependence not entirely on ourselves—in a longer or shorter space of time, we will bring the international proletariat complete victory over the bourgeoisie (Applause).

One of the most important events has been the amalgamation of the 2 and 2½ Internationals. The prediction made by the Comintern has come true. This amalgamation will only be to the advantage of the revolutionary struggle of the workers. The 2 and 2½ Internationals are birds of the same feather. Both of them are counter-revolutionary organisations. It is to the advantage of the revolutionary proletarians that they should the fewer disguises.

It is to our advantage that our action now be on simple and definite lines—only two camps, two divisions. On one side—the Second International, the Noske International, the International of social traitors, the International of the criminals against the working classes. On the other side our wide brotherhood, our companions—the workers of all countries, known to the Communist International. It should be shouted from the housetops that the amalgamation of the 2 and 2½ Internationals signifies among other things a new conspiracy of white terror against the workers who are struggling for freedom. These words of ours will probably now arouse just as much indignation in the Social Democratic camp as our statement at Halle in regard to the Livorno situation.

Nevertheless, we assume entire responsibility for all that we say before the workers of the entire world. The amalgamation of the 2 and 2½ Internationals is nothing but artillery preparation for a new onslaught of the international bourgeoisie against the revolutionary workers. The amalgamation of the 2 and 2½ Internationals paves the way for a 'Galifet', 'Noske', 'Mussolini', for executioners of the working class. In this sense the leaders of the 2 and 2½ Internationals are serving as the tools of a new scheme by the International bourgeoisie. The question of our attitude towards the amalgamation of the 2 and 2½ Internationals is the question of political



not only within the Party, but of the international. The objective postulates a victory of the proletarian world revolution have already matured in all the countries that are of decisive importance. We have the economic background for a triumph of socialism. The only thing lacking to the working class of the world is the so-called subjective factor—adequate organisation of the working class itself, sufficient class consciousness among the workers. In this sense the part played by Social-Democracy at the present moment is of great importance.

One may say without exaggeration, that the most central task of our days (nay, perhaps even of our entire epoch) is to defeat the Social Democracy, the main factor of the International counter-revolution, the chief obstacle in the way of the victory of the International Working Class. This, above all should be borne in mind by our Communist Parties which are just starting upon this road. Our fight against International menshevism and the amalgamation of the 2 and 2½ Internationals is not a struggle of factions within the socialist movement, as some are inclined to think, but the last and decisive fight of the International working class, against the last advocate and agent of International capitalism. (Cheers). I think that the Fifth Anniversary is an appropriate time to announce this to the workers of the world, in no uncertainty and with all the emphasis at our command.

Comrades, at this juncture I crave your indulgence for a point of personal explanation. I think it is my special duty to do so now, on the Fifth Anniversary of the revolution. You will remember, comrades, that five years ago, in company of the other comrades, I made a mistake which I consider as my most serious mistake in life. At the period alluded to I failed to see the international counter-revolutionary nature of the Mensheviks. Having fought together with the mensheviks for a great many years, I shared the error of many comrades, when at the decisive moment I still entertained the illusion that the mensheviks and the S. R.'s were perhaps a Right Wing of the working class. I see now that far from being a Right Wing, they are a cunning, artful and dangerous "Left Wing" of the bour-

geoisie. I think it therefore our duty to remind all comrades who in some places are only beginning the struggle against international menshevism, of the lessons that we have learned during our own revolution. We must warn them of the tremendous danger lurking in the camp of menshevism, from the camp of the 2nd International. We must warn them against under-estimating the treachery and perfidy of this enemy and the evil wrought by the policy of its leaders. Never look upon the mensheviks as a Right Wing of your own movement. Consider menshevism as your principal enemy, as the mainstay of the international bourgeoisie at the present moment. Capitalism exists now by the exclusive grace of the social traitors of the 2nd International. The working class is sufficiently numerous now, and with one sweep of its arm it could sweep away international capitalism, if it were not for the social democrats, who constantly stay the hand of the proletariat when it is ready to strike.

On the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution we must say to the international proletariat: „The menshevik prophesied that we would not exist even a few weeks. At the same time they prophesied that the Entente would crush us in a few months, that the armed forces of Koltchak and Yudenitch would finish us in no time. Later on they said that the famine would crush us, that our entire tactics were erroneous. Events have now shown that the only fault the menshevik gentlemen might now find with us would be perhaps that we committed an error by making our revolution in October when the weather is gloomy and rains are frequent“ (Applause). But it seems to me that the workers of Petrograd have turned out in sufficient numbers to put the "menshevist rain" to shame. Even this argument of menshevism has miscarried.

I will now say a few words on the international importance of the new economic policy.

Comrades, last year at the Third Congress, when the new economic policy was being introduced, we could only give you a theoretical and abstract idea of the part that this new policy was to play in the life of the First Proletarian Republic. Now we have more explicit data, and we



must tell you, comrades who have gathered here from all countries of the world;—many of you, viewing with misgivings the partial revival of capitalism in Soviet Russia, have told us in perfect good faith: "Yes, we understand that you are compelled to introduce the new economic policy, because we, the workers of other countries, are still too weak and are yet unable to come to your assistance".

This of course is true. Nevertheless, the argument is insufficient. We have come to the conclusion, comrades, that the new economic policy is not only the result of the fact that the communist of many capitalist countries are still too weak. No, there is even a greater reason behind it. We must tell you (in an introductory address there is no room for an elaborate exposition on the subject) that the new economic policy is a certain stage through which many countries, even those that are industrially developed and possess an overwhelming majority of the industrial proletariat, will have to pass, and which a few exceptional countries may evade. The Russian Commission will elaborate a complete statement on the subject at the Congress. We have to tell you this, because it is to be hoped that on the basis of these facts the Fourth Congress will build its entire strategy, the entire plan of our campaign during the coming year. We think that the new economic policy shows not only the weakness of communism in some capitalist countries, but demonstrates also the ability of the proletariat to take stock of its forces as compared with the forces of the peasantry and to establish a harmonious co-ordination between the progressive industrial workers and the great majority of the rural population.

We failed to see this at the start because we lacked the proper perspective. It is a testimony of the greatness of our revolution that it was the first to tackle this question in a practical manner. The new economic policy is not an episode, nor is it merely the expression of weakness of our fraternal parties in the progressive capitalist countries. No, it is a policy of tactical wisdom adopted by the First Great Proletarian Revolution in a country with an overwhelming peasant majority. It is the result of the struggle

of the working class of the first proletarian Republic which at took too rapid strides, but which was compelled to see the necessity of calling a halt, so as not to lose contact with the vast mass of the peasantry which under certain circumstances is a deciding factor in the outcome of a revolution, and had no other way but to adopt that set of measures which is known as the new economic policy. Comrades, we will have to bear in mind all these considerations, when at our Congress we will discuss the agrarian question and work out a programme of action for agricultural countries, we shall discuss the programme of the Communist International and a number of other questions that are on the order of the day. It is a question that will be discussed in all its details, and we hope that this will be done.

We tell you that as far as it is foreseen, the new economic policy will be a passing stage also for Europe and the Balkans, and perhaps a number of other countries even where the industrial proletariat is in the majority. In order to neutralise the peasantry at least certain strata of the peasantry you will have to pass through a phase analogous to the new economic policy; with the modifications arising out of concrete circumstances. Soviet Russia is proud of being able to render assistance to the international proletariat. Five years of our revolution have gone by. We are now in a position to sum up so far its results. May be we will do this in more detail at to-morrow's meeting. One thing we would like to say now. Five years of unparalleled struggle and numberless sacrifices, of numerous obstacles, famine, unparalleled blockade, intervention etc., have not broken the working class of Russia. The fifth year of the revolution finds the proletariat although tired, yet loyal to our Party. We say this in full consciousness of the fact that we have no right to take any position before the International Communist Congress, that we have to say nothing but the truth, and rallying with the same intensity as the workers during the best days of the revolutionary upheaval five years ago. What we have seen today in Petrograd you can see



any city of the Soviet Republic, in any industrial village, at the pithead of any mine. Everywhere the workers and toiling masses, who are entitled, so to speak, to a brief respite after these five years of terrible struggles, convinced of the final victory of the Soviet Republic. This is the feeling of every one of us who has the great fortune of struggling together with the great working masses of Russia, especially in such wonderful proletarian cities as Red Petrograd. If there have been any elements among the workers who were subject to misgivings and doubts, who were still afraid that we might get defeated, they are now free from such doubts. Our Party feels as never before that it is on the right track, that the working masses follow its lead with implicit confidence. The Communist Party of Russia "presents" to the Fourth Congress, on the day of the fifth anniversary of the October Revolution, a live and vigorous working class, welded together and confident of its power (Applause). For this reason we can afford to laugh to day in the face of the shadows of the past—the R's, mensheviks, the Russian Parties of the Second International.

We are on the right track. There were times during these five onerous years when the Communist Party and the proletariat who followed us were in the minority. There were times when under the pressure of untold sufferings there was wavering in the ranks of the working class. It is the proud achievement of the Russian Communist Party, as a detachment of the Comintern, that during such times of hesitation we never let go our banner. For we knew that across our stormy path, across the terrific obstacles and sacrifices, we will lead the working class to complete victory. On the fifth year of the October Revolution we declare: all the difficulties are now behind us. We have led the working class of our country out into the open road. Our Party which has started the October Revolution and passed through to unusually trying but glorious and bright road, our Party which is only one of the sections of the Communist International, has won the affection of the working class of a great country, has built a bridge into the vast rural terri-

ories and gained the adherence of the whole of Soviet Russia.

Comrades, we can assure you that at your back you have a party which even in the blackest days will not relinquish its banner. During the darkest days of the revolution it was our greatest pride to know that that we were leading the way to the organisation of the world proletariat. We know very well that before many years will have elapsed, a number of parties will overtake us and that a number of industrial countries, having achieved their proletarian, will take up a foremost position in the Communist International. When this comes to pass we shall, as Comrade Lenin has stated, become a backward Soviet country among other more advanced Soviet countries. We are aware of this and we are waiting this moment as the greatest triumph of those who were the pioneers of the revolution. We know just as well as you the difficulties on your path; collisions with a better organised, with a more greedy bourgeoisie are in store for you. You will have to cross swords with the still unconquered traitors of the II International. The Petrograd workers with whom you met yesterday in the factories and works of this city, are naturally impatient to see the first rays of the victorious world revolution. However, they realise full well the difficulties on your path. The Comintern is against all premature action and badly organised risings which might be drowned in the workers' blood and which might crush the most precious possession of the proletariat—the organised proletarian Communist Party.

We are following in the wake of the Paris Commune, but we want a victorious commune.—The Comintern will not allow the bourgeoisie to crush our forces in isolated collisions and will not allow our movement to be drowned in the blood of the workers.

In the present year we witness a mighty movement in the East, and this movement has made such big strides forward that there is hardly any Eastern country at present where we do not possess a nucleus however small, of the Communist Party. Our parties in the East are not very numerous as yet. However, our "Labour emancipation group" in Russia in 1883 was also but



a small group. Its organisation however was a sign that a new era had begun in Russia. The era of revolution, the establishment of Communist Parties in such countries as Japan, India, Turkey, Persia and China, which constitute an inexhaustible reserve of the proletarian social revolution—is a historic event. It is a sign that even there the most advanced labour forces are becoming organised and will lead the oppressed masses to the victory of the international revolution. During this year great nationalist movements were initiated among the oppressed peoples, which are a heavy blow to international capitalism. The risings in India, China and Egypt, which are growing in magnitude, will destroy the bourgeois regime.

This is on our side. The mole of history is burrowing well. Comrades, if some of those who are present here today will be still alive in five years time and will celebrate the tenth anniversary of the October Revolution, they will realise that what we have done hitherto is only child's play.

We shall witness the world shaking by numberless revolts; and tens, nay hundreds of millions of oppressed peoples rising against Imperialism.

Long live the International revolution!

Long live the Russian proletariat who laid the foundation of this revolution, who, perishing under the cross fire of the enemy, understood that it is fighting not only for its own country, but in the interests of the international proletariat!

The Russian workers are international in the best sense of the word. After the events of the last five years, the Russian workers, and especially the workers of Petrograd, dared not hope for a better recompense than that which they received to day. How many of you, Petrograd comrades, who were the outposts of our detachments; the first fighters for the Soviet Power, dreamed five years ago when rifle in hand we began to form the first weak units of the Red Guards and went into the thick of heroic struggle, that you would live to see the fifth anniversary of the revolution, and that you would receive within the walls of your Soviet, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International? However, we

have lived to see that day. We could have received a greater reward.

The Congress will give new strength to the workers of Petrograd, and of the whole of Russia. We shall take in the economic construction of our Republic, we shall set an example of heroism, not only at the front of the War, but also at the front of a reconstruction of the socialist economic system. We shall help our brothers to organise themselves and will enable them to gather strength until they will be able to take the bourgeoisie by the throat (plause).

Down with the international bourgeoisie! (applause).

There is something else — Down with its agent—the Second International! Live the communists of the world! Live the millions of workers who are fighting for the new struggle and who will come to Communism! Long live the Communist International! (all present stand and sing the „International“).

Comrades, in agreement with all delegates it was resolved not to treat the speeches, nevertheless we are pleased that the members of our large assembly will fully understand each other.

Comrades, I must read to you Comrade Lenin's telegram addressed to the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern and the Petrograd Soviet of the Workers' Peasants' Delegates. I must tell you comrades, that Vladimir Ilitch was very anxious to be present here to day; now we were obliged to admit that it would be advisable to postpone for a little his visit to Petrograd. However, this is not far distant when we shall have Vladimir Ilitch in our ranks, (Applause). In the meanwhile, we must rest content with listening to the following telegram.

Petrograd: Comrade Zinoviev to the Fourth World Congress of the Comintern: To the Soviet of Workers and Red Army Delegates.

— „I deeply regret not to be able to be present at the first session of the Congress, and can only send you a written greeting.

„In spite of the gigantic difficulties standing in the way of the Communist Parties, the Comintern is growing and getting stronger. Hitherto, the chief task consist-

wi  
ke  
at  
th  
be  
m  
an  
fo  
tir  
th  
in  
th  
ke  
ra  
We  
nic  
e to  
on  
The  
its  
ablis  
te to  
firs  
It is  
adie  
dif  
T  
Long  
omr  
car  
of  
ar  
Petro  
ng  
rep  
bes  
h I  
out  
rah!  
he  
he  
nov  
ou t  
sky  
se).  
rade  
ogra  
Dea  
sinc  
ly i  
ress  
Petr  
ry



winning the majority of the workers. We shall carry out this task at all costs. The amalgamation of the 2nd and 2½ Internationals has benefitted the revolutionary movement of the proletariat: Less fiction and less deceptions are always good for the working class.

“My best wishes and warm greetings to the Petrograd workers and their new Soviet which is receiving in its city the Fourth Congress of the Comintern. The Petrograd workers must also be in the foremost ranks of the economic front.

We heard with great joy of the economic revival of Petrograd. I hope to be able to respond very soon to your invitation to visit Petrograd.

The Soviet power in Russia is celebrating its 5th anniversary. It is more firmly established than ever. The civil war has come to an end—and we can already see the first signs of the economic revival. It is Soviet Russia's greatest pride to be able to help the world proletariat in the difficult task of overthrowing capitalism. The victory will be ours.

“Long live the Communist International”.

V. Ulianov-Lenin.

Comrades, I think that our reply to you can take the form of a short resolution of the Fourth Congress, of all those who are present and of all the workers of Petrograd. Vladimir Ilitch wrote to us: “Long live the Communist International.” My reply to this is “Long live the wisest and best of all leaders, comrade Vladimir Ilitch Lenin!” (tumultuous applause).

Cheers of „Hurrah! Comrade Lenin, Hurrah!”

The „International” was then played by the orchestra.

Zinoviev: Comrades, I must also read you the telegram addressed by comrade Trotsky to the Petrograd Soviet. (Applause).

(By Wire),

Comrade Zinoviev  
Petrograd Soviet

Dear Comrades,

I sincerely regret that pressure of work and illness in connection with the International Congress prevents me from being among the Petrograd workers during the anniversary celebrations as I was five years ago.

Heartily greet Red Petrograd and the Premier Soviet of the Proletarian Dictatorship.

Yours,  
Trotsky.

5th. November. 1922.

Exclamations:—Long live the Leader of the Red Army! Hurrah! (applause)

Zinoviev;—Comrades, the Congress desires to express its approval and convey its greetings to the many communist comrades and revolutionary workers in general, who are confined in the numberless jails of Europe and America. Clara Zetkin will speak in this connection. Clara Zetkin has the floor.

Clara Zetkin:

When the revolutionary vanguard of the Comintern assembles in order to review the past and look into the future, it always remembers those who have fallen in the struggle.

With pride and sorrow we have just honoured our unforgettable dead.

It is also our duty to remember the many thousands of comrades languishing in jails because they dared to break the chains which bind the proletariat.

The prisons of Roumania, Jugo-Slavia and Greece are crowded. Everywhere the proletariat is tortured; everywhere communists are persecuted.

We witness the same in Hungary where the White Terror of Horty reigns supreme. Turn to Poland:—Comrade Dombal who has been elected to the Diet by the small peasantry, notwithstanding his inviolability as the people's representative is sentenced to many years of hard labour on the basis of old czaristic laws which are in direct contradiction to the present laws.

During the election campaign over 500 communists were thrown into prison.

In Galicia and other Polish regions the proletariat is shamelessly oppressed by military courts. Political prisoners are punished in accordance with military laws. And Poland considers herself a Democracy!

Baltic States:—Numerous victims, from the time of the revolution pine in the Finnish gaols—brave men and women over whom Mannerheim in alliance with Von Golz in command of the German mercenary army—obtained a sanguinary victory.



Never to be forgotten Comrade Kengisepp died in Esthonia a victim to the bourgeois thirst for revenge. Prisons are filled; comrades charged with political crimes are subjected to torture. Comrade Sklav-Sklavin has been sentenced to death in Latvia, many other comrades confined in prison are awaiting sentence.

Turn to Germany:—at the head of which is a President who still calls himself a Social Democrat. It would be very difficult to recall a single principle of the old Social Democratic Party, which he has not betrayed, which he has not trampled upon. Three years have elapsed, but in Germany the Bavarian prisons and fortresses still contain the revolutionary fighters and communists, since the days of the Munich Soviet Republic. The cries of the victims of the White Terror are heard again and again from the prison walls but the leaders of the 2 and 2½ International remain deaf, and do not start a campaign of protest as they did during the trial of the Social Revolutionists—the vanguard of counter-revolution in Soviet Russia. Not all the victims, by far, of the March uprising of the last year had been freed. Max Holz the courageous revolutionary fighter is still behind the bars, notwithstanding the fact that large proletarian masses demand his release. All this occurs regardless of the amnesty declared by the Social Democratic coalition government. From day to day the proletariat is being more cynically mocked at. Not so long ago the streets of Berlin were streaming with the blood of the proletariat who struggled not to attain the final goal but to defend the bourgeois Republic from the military monarchist reaction. All this violence and base activity of this counter revolution remains unpunished. The Leipzig trial of the assassination of Ratenau placed a premium upon political assassinations. And the Minister of Justice in Germany is a Social Demokrat!

The sailor heroes of the Black Sea Fleet who refused to fight Soviet Russia, the Republic of the revolutionary proletariat and peasantry are still behind the iron bars of stony prisons in France. Proletarian blood was shed during the great Havre strike, so courageously begun with great self sacrifice—many revolutionary workers were thrown into prison.

In Italy counter revolution is satisfied with the destruction by the capitalist of Trade Unions and co-operatives, the shooting of reactionary workers, the persecutions of liberals. The justice of bourgeoisie basely accomplishes what Fascism has begun.

England, a model land of Democracy pursues a policy of terror toward colonies and dominions. Hundreds of proletarians are confined in the prisons of South Africa—who defended their country by striking against their exploiter oppressors. The English bourgeoisie has sway over India and Egypt ruthlessly suppressing the nationalist revolutionary fighting for the independence of native land against the British imperial plunderers. This bourgeois terror directed against all the revolutionary proletarian fighters struggling for emancipation from all slavery including the oppression of its own bourgeoisie.

In the United States the revolutionary communists are persecuted in an unprovoked manner, they are deprived of all rights, tortured and subjected to cruelty.

Persecution, the throwing into prison of proletarian fighters the terror of bourgeois governments, has become a national mass phenomena. This is caused, not only by the fact that it has become impossible for the proletariat to bear this oppression and exploitation, but also by the fact that the recognition of their personal rights is endorsed by the horrible thirst for revenge which has taken hold of the ruling classes. The bourgeoisie of the world is still strong, but notwithstanding this it feels the foundations of its class power tottering under the invincible blows of the revolutionary forces of history.

And thus the bourgeoisie tries to save itself by every means of force and deceit—by the lies of Democracy and the scorpions of class justice. Still the bourgeoisie during the present historical moment is unable to strengthen its rule by its own power. The decay of capitalist economy is manifest. The destruction of the bourgeois state and the rule of the bourgeoisie is fast approaching. The overthrow of the bourgeoisie ruling class would have been an accomplished fact if the opportunist leaders



nations did not come to her aid. They build the bulwarks for the defence of the bourgeoisie—it is they who bear the responsibility in full measure, for the fact that thousands and thousands, the flower of the proletariat languish in prison instead of fighting for the overthrow of capitalism.

Comrades, it is our duty to send fraternal greetings to all those, whoever they may be, and in whatever so called fatherland they have suffered (stormy applause) send greetings to all who have the courage and strength to fight, and are not guilty for not having succeeded.

We extend them our hearty greetings and are firmly convinced that they, who are sufficiently courageous, to oppose an entire world of enemies, will possess sufficient strength to stand erect and resist the onslaughts of the enemy who is thirsty for revenge. We greet them and believe that their deliberation will be the result not of the humanity loving sentiments, of justice and of other beautiful things which the bourgeoisie likes to talk about, but will be obtained conclusively by the might of the revolutionary proletarian masses, whose irresistible pressure will break open the doors of their prisons. We express our conviction that this struggle for the liberation of the revolutionary fighters will not only be an act of solidarity of the part of the proletariat but that it owes a debt to those fighters who were left unsupported by it in the field of battle. We extend our greetings to our brothers and sisters who are held behind iron bars and assure them of our confidence that their determination will not be shaken, that their fight will not be blurred even if the day of liberation will arrive only after the triumphant flag of the revolution, the Soviet Star in its centre, will be hoisted over a number of countries and the entire world.

noviev: Comrades, we shall now read the text of an appeal to our imprisoned comrades. The reading of this document is entrusted to a comrade who in former days well acquainted with the Czar's prisons, that is, Comrade Felix Kon. (Applause). Comrade Kon

Greetings to prisoners of capitalism.

Prisoners of Capitalism! Heroic for the freedom of the working class, thrown into prisons by capitalistic governments. The representatives of the revolutionary proletariat of all countries assembled at the 4th World Congress of the Communist International send you greetings!

Comrades, from year to year the world Congresses of revolutionary proletarian vanguard, pointed out the conquests of the working class, payed homage to the working class, payed homage to the victims of the struggle, who have fallen at the hands of the executioners and to those confined in prisons. From the moment that the United Front of Capital began its onslaught, its cruelty has manifested itself in full force. Once again throughout the capitalist world where the proletarian is fighting its "last battle" with its class enemy—proletarian blood is being shed and the flower of the proletariat languishes in prisons. Waves of the White Terror spread over the capitalist nations.

In Italy, the Fascisti fight the proletariat with fire and sword—burn up the offices of the trade unions, labor organization and party organs—not stopping at anything even destroying the homes of the fighters for the freedom of the working class!

In France the heroic sailors who have refused to go against the Russia of the workers and peasants continue to languish in prisons and during the Havre strike the defenders of capitalism once again reaped their bloody harvest—the blood of the workers flows along the streets of Berlin and the workers who fight against the monarchistic reaction are being thrown into prisons. Those who took part in Soviet Bavaria, regardless of the fact that three years have passed since its fall are still in prison. Many of the participators in the March uprising are still confined in prison notwithstanding the fact that an amnesty has been declared.

In Esthonia after the execution of Comrade Kingisser, the prisons are filled with the representatives of the proletariat. In Latvia punishment by hanging is being introduced again. Comrade Klyavs-Klyavin



is sentenced to death, and the fate of the hundreds of arrested workers has not yet been decided.

In democratic Poland fighters for Communism are sentenced to hard labor in accordance with the laws of Czardom.

The "Inviolable" deputy Comrade Dombel has been sentenced to hard labor and is already serving his term. Electoral committees are being illegally arrested. Over 500 men are confined in prison for participating in election committees. The frontiers are declared in a state of siege and field-court martials are being introduced. Men are being killed in Roumania under the pretext of "attempting to escape."

During the examination of prisoners, torture is being used which calls forth protest even from the bourgeoisie. In Yugo-Slavia arrest and torture proceed apace, and the workers are treated with contempt. In Hungaria the bloody rule of Horty continues its executions and tortures. In South-Africa the strikers are being dealt with rigorously. Democratic America, proud of its freedom, metes out severe punishment to anyone even suspected of belonging to the Communist Party. The American bourgeoisie raid trade unions, make arrests by the hundred, beats up and clubs the strikers. In India, Egypt, and in all the colonies the slightest expression of dissatisfaction, the slightest attempt at resistance to unrestrained exploitation is crushed by military force. Comrades! In all their bloody acts social democracy is the handmaid of the bourgeoisie. The lies of the Social Democrats divert the working classes from the struggle, offering liberal reforms without revolution. It is they who betray the proletariat; they who divert the attention of the masses of one country and cover up the cruel acts of the bourgeoisie in its treatment of the workers of other countries.

Comrades! Workers! The Communist International has grown accustomed to persecution. Each conquest of the Revolution is dearly bought with the blood of the fighters. The stronger the struggle, the more victims there will be. People perish—the idea never perishes. Comrades confined in the capitalist prisons—on this day of our great celebration, on the great day of the Fifth Anniversary of the Rus-

sian Revolution, we share with deep assurance that the hour approaches when the revolutionary proletariat free itself from the yoke of capitalism and the weight of capitalist exploitation break open the prison locks and honor bring you back into its ranks most honorable comrades.

Away with capitalist executioners to the struggle for the freedom of the working class!

Hail to the struggle for the freedom of our heroic fighters languishing in capitalist prisons!

Zinoviev: Comrades! The Congress convenes at a moment when the Proletariat is undergoing a critical period of development; in the long run, sure, this will only facilitate the progress of the revolutionary movement in every country. But at the present time the condition of the Italian proletariat is difficult. The Presidium, therefore, deems it necessary that the Congress at the beginning of its labours should issue an appropriate declaration upon the Italian question. Comrade Béron, representative of the French delegation will now take the floor to read a declaration.

Comrade Béron (reads) "Dear Brothers, Comrades, Workers and Peasants of all countries! On the day of the solemn opening of the Fourth Congress of the Third International concurrent with the celebration of the Fifth anniversary of the victory of the proletarian revolution, the Communist International makes its appeal to you, realising that the recent events in your country place at the forefront of the revolution arena struggle against an unbridled sway of reaction which is running your country."

Two years ago the Comintern insisted that the leaders of the then Italian Socialist Party to take the offensive. The Comintern strongly urged to purge the part of the advantage of the bourgeoisie and the revolutionary sentiment among the toiling masses after the trials and tribulations of war and the disappointments of peace,—to deliver a death blow to the antiquated social order.

But the advice of people inclining to half measures and caution, gained the upper hand. They were frightened by the dictatorship of the proletariat. They a



the deeply rooted popular tradition of the bourgeoisie is democracy and bourgeois law and order.

Later, what the Comintern predicted, came to pass; while the centrists were busy negotiating with the Right Wing, the bourgeoisie regained its strength, the reaction took the offensive and power was captured by the bandits who personified the most violent class hatred towards you and your ideals.

The Fascisti became the masters of the situation.

They have actually established a Dictatorship. They trampled under foot all the semblance of democracy and of law and order,—those false gods which the weak leaders of Italian Socialism worshipped.

In iron and blood they are demolishing the remnants of the workers' organizations which even before they ferociously attacked with the aid of the government which now entirely in their hands.

Do not despair, brothers of our class! Not all has not been lost, but employing the most considered and determined tactics, victory is sure of attainment. The forces of the proletariat in the largest industrial centres—Turin, Milan, Venice and Trieste remain unimpaired and can easily be prepared to repel the enemy.

The Communist Party of Italy was not enough to break on time with the vacillating elements which under the guise of maximalism carried out the tactics of indecision and compromise, going so far as to conclude a year ago a peace agreement with the Fascist bandits. Today the Communist Party firmly holds aloft the Red Banner in its hands. The Communist Party issues a call to all Socialists who are in favour of revolutionary action, to the entire working mass and class conscious peasantry who are

shocked with horror at the sight of the black reaction spreading like a cyclone, rallying their forces round the banner of revolution!

It must be acknowledged that if the forces of revolution in Italy are not so weak as presented by the panic-mongers, on the other hand the forces of the Fascisti are much weaker than their friends and followers claim, because in the camp of their class enemies there is a lack of

unity. The Fascisti are first of all a tool in

the hands of the agrarians. The industrial commercial bourgeoisie observe with fear the experiment in unbridled reaction which they designate black Bolshevism.

On the other hand, in addition to the politically immature elements which are actually in the struggle such as the reactionary students, demobilised officers, and ordinary hooligans, the Fascisti counts in their ranks certain elements of the rural proletariat and a section of the peasantry. These elements will soon realise by what deceptive promises they were carried into the counter revolutionary adventure which is converting them into an army of the landlords to fight against their own brothers.

Finally, Fascism resignates the policy of international adventures. Grandiloquent, but without a definite programme and definite ideals, without a firm and united class basis, Fascism is bound to arouse against itself very soon a broad movement even among the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie.

The entire Comintern is behind you, dear comrades. It is very closely watching the unfolding of your strenuous and responsible struggle. It points out to the proletarians of all countries the lesson of the Italian events as an illustration of the consequences of the terrible tactical mistakes of opportunism. It will be only too glad to point to the further history of your movement as an illustration of how such mistakes can be rectified. The Communist International stands ready to lend its utmost support in your bitter struggle.

Long live the unity of the workers of Italy in the struggle against reaction!

Long live the persecuted but courageous Communist Party of Italy!

Long live the unity of the world in the struggle with capitalism! (Applause).

Zinoviev: On the initiative of a number of delegations the Congress intends to address to the Soviet Republics an appeal from the Communist International on the fifth Anniversary of our revolution. The representative of the Italian delegation will speak on this question and in his person we shall express our solidarity with the Italian workers. Comrade Atzario, member of the Italian Delegation, and an old fighter and railway worker, will take the floor.



Atzario: Comrades, in your struggle you need our assistance and support, but it is possible that in the decisive moment of our future struggle, we shall need to a still greater extent, the support of the proletarian state in the world. Protect with all your might our common conquest,—ours and your Soviet power!

Hold firmly that section of the world proletarian front where for five years you broke through the capitalist trenches and conquered the territory for the erection of the foundation of our proletarian Fatherland. This Fatherland as a result of our common victory will embrace the entire world.

Long live the great October Revolution and its heroes!

Long live the Russian working class!

Long live Red Petrograd the cradle of the Soviet power!

Death to world capital and its mainstay—the treacherous Social-Democrats and Reformists!

Long live the World proletarian revolution!

Long live the World Federated Soviet Republic! (Applause).

Comrades Atzario then reads:

To all the Toilers of Russia!

The Fourth World Congress of the III Communist International meeting in its first session in Petrograd, the city where the world proletarian revolution had its beginning and where the Soviet Government was born, sends its warmest greetings and congratulations to the workers, peasants, and Red Army men of Soviet Russia who are celebrating the 5th anniversary of the great November Revolution.

Comrades, five years ago, by your heroic assault upon the fortress of the old world, you have overthrown the rule of landlords and of the capitalist class in your country, you have conquered and torn out of the hands of capital the 6th part of the globe, you have defended in conditions of a most severe civil war, against world capitalism, the land of the Soviet Republic, this heritage of the entire world proletariat, and now you have the opportunity to advance every day along the path of peaceful socialist reconstruction period.

This victory was not secured by you easily; hundreds of thousands of working

men and peasants have laid down lives for the cause of Communism. In a period of years the working class live in conditions of the greatest suffering and want, but hearing every day at night the cries of their hungry children, the working class did not lower its banner, and led by its unbending guard—the Russian Communist Party has valiantly, with a firm step, through the most difficult part of its

Kneeling together with you before innumerable graves of proletarians Red Army men who had fallen for the common cause upon the vast plain of Soviet Russia, the 4th Congress attended by delegates, most of whom attended previous congresses, acknowledges with great joy that already at the time of the 5th anniversary of the November Revolution, and when only one year of full reconstruction had passed, Soviet Russia is rapidly healing the wounds inflicted on her in the struggle. The industry and agriculture of the country are noticeably re-established. The material conditions of the working class are improving, a new generation of the young working class is growing up, it is mastering science and technical knowledge, the forces of the workers and peasants of the Red Army are increasing and at the same time the working class of Russia holds fast in their hands the power of Government.

The 4th Congress assembled on this territory at a time when the dark clouds of capitalist reaction are gathering over the workers of the world; everywhere capitalism is fighting against all the achievements of the working class. In a country where wages are being decreased, the eight hour day is given up, and the power of the trade unions are curtailed.

Reaction is growing also in the industrial field. In Italy the power of Government is seized by the criminal and the robber bands of Fascisti, these reserves of the capitalist class are struggling for its existence. In Germany monarchist forces are being organized and prepared for attack. In England the Government of Lloyd George was found to be too Liberal and was replaced by the Conservatives. The contradictions between the classes are becoming more acute and everything points to the fact that



getting into a tangle leading to the  
 st desperate mortal battle between the  
 proletariat and the capitalist regime,  
 but the darker the night is becoming  
 Europe all the brighter are shining in  
 Soviet North the stars of your and  
 Proletarian Dictatorship, where the  
 ntry is ruled by the hammer and the  
 cle, under the protection of the Red  
 of the Red Army. The more unbea-  
 le the condition is becoming of the  
 kers in other countries under the heel  
 capital growing more and more inso-  
 , with all the more hope the working  
 s of the entire world is looking in  
 direction of that part of the globe  
 ere now already for 5 years exists the  
 changeable Government of work-callou-  
 hands. Comrades! you in your hard  
 ggle need our help and support, but  
 e we need the help of the first  
 ld Proletarian Government at the  
 sive moment in our struggle against  
 ital. Do, all therefore, to preserve our  
 mon conquest—your and our Proleta-  
 re in front, where 5 years ago you had  
 you ten through the capitalist trenches and  
 p, we conquered their territory for the  
 al bling of the foundation of our Prole-  
 and an Fatherland. This Fatherland as a  
 ealt of our common victory, will spread  
 ing the entire world!  
 and live the great November Revolu-  
 and its heroes!  
 on Song live the Russian working class!  
 rk Song live the Proletarian Petrograd,  
 ing birthplace of Soviet Government!  
 ery path to World Capitalism and its main  
 econort—the treacherous Social Demo-  
 ss. Es and Reformists!  
 ased Song live the World Proletarian Revolu-  
 tion!  
 d. Song live the world Socialist Federative  
 he et Republic!  
 r Govnoviev: In compliance with the  
 and of a number of Delegations the  
 idium resolved to issue a special  
 al to the Red Army. It is of historic  
 fificance that the Presidium has chosen  
 rade Katayama, the most venerable  
 er of the Japanese workers to speak  
 his question. Comrade Katayama is  
 a the floor.  
 atayama: Comrades! it is with  
 pride and gratitude that I take  
 occasion to address you and to ex-

press my heartiest greetings to the Red  
 Army and Fleet of Soviet Russia. We  
 rejoice in the success of the Russian Re-  
 volution. We know what hardships Soviet  
 Russia had to go through and how she  
 was forced to fight both on the internal  
 and external fronts. We know that capi-  
 talism attempted to crush the Russian  
 Revolution, but we also know that the  
 Red Army and Fleet defended and main-  
 tained the Russian Revolution. To-day we  
 are glad to extend our congratulations to  
 Soviet Russia which stood in the struggle  
 against World Imperialism and Capi-  
 talism.

On the occasion of the Fifth Anniver-  
 sary of the Russian Revolution we express  
 our gratitude to the Russian Red Army  
 men and sailors who have not only  
 upheld their own revolution but have by  
 their example instilled new courage into  
 the hearts of the working class of other  
 countries. The proletariat of the entire  
 world is basing its hopes upon the Red  
 Army.

Comrades! for us and for the prole-  
 tariat of the entire world it is of the ut-  
 most value that we congregate here for  
 the fourth time to direct the course of  
 the world socialist revolution. We are  
 very glad and proud, realising that we  
 are here in the workers' republic in per-  
 fect security and that we are defended  
 by the Red Army that conquered freedom  
 for the Russian nation.

At this moment we attach especially  
 great hopes to the Red Army and Fleet,  
 realising that they are destined to play  
 a great role in the future. They defended  
 and upheld the Russian revolution, they  
 fought for themselves and for their com-  
 rades, — workers and peasants, but are  
 still to perform a greater role in the  
 organisation and the achievement of the  
 revolution in other countries. It is not  
 sufficient to achieve a revolution in  
 Russia, to make the revolution victorious  
 in Russia, the revolution should be victo-  
 rious the world over.

Compades, we rest our hopes in  
 the Red Army and Fleet and urge them  
 to prepare for the coming struggle for  
 the achievement of the world revolution.  
 You should organise and defend the  
 Comintern in the future as valiantly as  
 you did in the past. It should be acknow-  
 ledged that heretofore we worked insuf-



ficiently in other countries, but in the future the Red Army of Soviet Russia should be converted into an International proletarian army. It should fight not only for the Soviet Republic, but also for the World Revolution. The Communist International is preparing to fight for the World Revolution and our struggle must become international.

We call for unity in order to give to the struggle an international character which is conveyed by the very name of the Communist International. Now, I shall read the resolution as adopted by the Comintern: (reads).

To the army and fleet of the  
Russian Socialist Federative  
Soviet Republic.

From the Fourth Congress of the  
Communist International.

„The Fourth World Congress of the Communist International extends its warmest greetings and heartfelt gratitude to the heroic fighters of the Red Army and Fleet. Soviet Russia is the only place on earth where the representatives of the Revolutionary workers of the world are able without interference to work for the organisation of the struggle for the liberation of toiling humanity from the yoke of capitalism. Only due to the victories of the Red Army and to its powerful defence the delegates of the working class have the opportunity to assemble for a fourth time at the World Congress.

Red Warriors of the Army and Fleet! You should realise that the revolutionary workers of all countries share with you the joys of your triumphs and with deep pain share with you the bitterness of defeat. In all countries the class conscious workers realise that you were conducting a struggle not only for your own freedom but also for the common cause of the workers of the world. At former congresses also we unanimously hailed you as the warriors of the Communist International and the heroes of the struggle for all humanity.

Comrades! Warriors of the Red Army and Fleet! during the past years of the struggle the revolutionary workers of the world were unfortunately too weak

to rush to your assistance in the conflict. For this reason it was so difficult for you to conduct your struggle against the united forces of world capitalism. But the Communist countries did not lose a single day, worked incessantly for the enlightenment and unification of the masses and preparation for the overthrow of capitalism. The present Fourth Congress also devote its entire time to this most task of the world proletariat.

Congratulating you, heroic warriors of the Red Army and Fleet, on your brilliant victory in the Far East, the Fourth Congress of the Communist International warns you that the time for universal disarmament, the time for the cessation of wars has not yet come. As long as the majority of countries are dominated by capitalists, who use their arms for their piratic purposes, condemning to death millions of workers in the name of the interest of capital so long as war continue and all nations, the workers of the Soviet Republics included remain under the constant threat of horrors of war.

Be on guard, heroes of the Red Army and Fleet, the danger has not passed. The Fourth Congress with great sympathy greets the efforts of the Soviet Republics to fortify the power of the Red Army and to bring it into readiness for the revolution!

Long live the Red Army and Fleet!  
Zinoviev: Comrade Clara Zetkin, the well known militarist, will speak to us on this question. (Laughter and applause).

Clara Zetkin (in Russian): Comrades, Long live the Red Army and Fleet! (Applause).

Zinoviev: Comrades, the workers will do great honour to the Petrograd workers by addressing special greetings to our city in the name of the Communist International. Comrade Kolaroff, leader of the Balkan Communist International, will now speak.

Kolaroff: (reads) „To the workers, men and women, and to the Red Army and Fleet of Red Petrograd.

On the solemn occasion of the anniversary of the October Revolution the Fourth Congress of the Communist



national extends its greeting to the heroic proletariat of Red Petrograd.

By its courageous action in the February-March days in 1917, the working men and women of Petrograd, supported by the soldiers of the garrison threw down from the blood-stained pedestal the hated Czarism, and in the form of the Soviet of Workers and Soldiers' Deputies laid the foundation of the organisation destined very soon to complete the triumph of revolution and open a new era of construction of the Proletarian State.

In the memorable days of October 1917, the Petrograd proletariat advanced to a point from which a new era in human history was to proceed.

Following on the footsteps of the immortal Paris Commune of 1871, the Petrograd workers overthrew the power of the bourgeoisie and established the dictatorship of the proletariat and thus ushered in the era of the social revolution not only in Russia but the world over.

In the internal and external war which commenced from this moment and lasted for many years the Petrograd proletariat stood continuously in the front ranks, sending its sons to all fronts and contributing inculcable sacrifices in toil and lives.

Its example fired the hearts of the broad working masses of Russia with enthusiasm and to-day, after five years the Russian working class is able to congratulate itself on the attainment of complete victory on all internal and external fronts.

At the present time, during the transition to peace construction, the indefatigable Petrograd proletariat continues to occupy one of the foremost places at the front of labour, by its efforts Petrograd is healing its wounds and is once more being converted into an industrial proletarian centre.

The merits of Red Petrograd are great not only in the eyes of Workers and Pea-

sants' Republic but also in the eyes of the entire world proletariat. Soviet Russia has become the backbone of the international movement, its bulwark and hope.

If the Russian Revolution has aroused the spirit of all countries by lending a powerful impetus to the international struggle for the social revolution, it is largely due to the services of Red Petrograd. Its example of inexhaustible heroism inspires the workers of all countries to an untiring struggle for its complete liberation and for the establishment of the world Socialist Federation of Soviet Republics.

Hence the world proletariat considers Red Petrograd as one of its chief fortresses, and the hearts of the workers of all countries are throbbing with love and sympathy for the working masses of the Northern Commune.

Hence it is that on the Fifth Anniversary of the glorious October Revolution and on the day of the solemn opening of the Fourth Congress of the Communist International the first thought of the delegates of this world congress of the workers, turns to Red Petrograd in whose hospitable walls we celebrate this world proletarian festival.

Undying glory to the heroic proletarians of Red Petrograd!

Long live the Petrograd workers, the pioneers of the Social Revolution and the paragon of the World Proletariat!"

Kolaroff: (Proceeding) Working men and women. You who first raised the banner of revolution, hold it firmly in your hands! The hour is nigh when this flag will wave triumphantly in every land!

Zinoviev: The first session of the Fourth World Congress of the Communist International is at an end.

I declare the session closed. I propose we sing the International hymn of the proletariat (the audience sings the International).